

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----118546 081816Z /40  
O 081744Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4864

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MADRID 06463

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: SP, US, MARR, MASS, OREP  
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FIRST VICE PRESIDENT AND MINISTER  
OF DEFENSE GUTIERREZ MELLADO

REF: MADRID 06199 AND 06277; STATE 144856

1. I MET ALONE WITH GUTIERREZ MELLADO FOR ONE HOUR AND TEN MINUTES ON JUNE 8 FOR WHAT TURNED OUT TO BE A QUITE EXTENSIVE, AND, I TRUST, USEFUL DISCUSSION OF THE U.S.-SPANISH MILITARY RELATIONSHIP AND OF THE POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THE SPANISH MILITARY. THIS MESSAGE WILL DEAL WITH OUR CONVERSATION ON U.S.-SPANISH MILITARY RELATIONSHIP. THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE SPANISH MILITARY WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A SEPARATE MESSAGE.

2. AT THE OUTSET I SAID I HAD COME TO SEE HIM UNINSTRUCTED AND TO TALK WITH HIM ON A PERSONAL BASIS. BASED ON OUR LONGSTANDING CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP, I WANTED TO GIVE HIM MY CANDID ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESENTATION ON THIS ISSUE THAT HE HAD MADE TO CODEL BURTON (MADRID 06277) BECAUSE I THOUGHT IT WAS IN BOTH UNITED STATES AND SPANISH INTERESTS THAT HIS PROSPECTIVE VISIT TO THE U.S. BE AS PRODUCTIVE AS POSSIBLE. THE PRESENTATION THAT HE ULTIMATELY MADE WAS OF COURSE ENTIRELY A MATTER OF HIS  
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OWN DECISION AND PREFERENCE, BUT I WANTED TO GIVE HIM AS MUCH INSIGHT AS I COULD ON WHAT I THOUGHT WOULD BE THE REACTION AND POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT, EVEN THOUGH I WAS DOING THIS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS.

3. I THEN SAID I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE UNWISE FOR HIM TO ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH THAT SPAIN HAD DONE MORE FOR THE

U.S. THAN THE U.S. HAD DONE FOR SPAIN. THERE WERE TWO REASONS WHY THIS WAS WRONG. FIRST, THE U.S. ASSUMED IT WAS IN SPAIN'S BASIC INTEREST TO COOPERATE IN THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST, REGARDLESS OF WHAT ASSISTANCE IT RECEIVED FROM THE U.S., AND THAT THIS WAS ALSO SPAIN'S FUNDAMENTAL BELIEF. SECOND, ANY ATTEMPT TO ADD UP HOW MUCH EACH COUNTRY HAD DONE FOR THE OTHER ON A BILATERAL BASIS LEFT COMPLETELY ASIDE HOW MUCH THE U.S. WAS DOING FOR THE ENTIRE WESTERN WORLD, INCLUDING SPAIN, THROUGH ITS HUGE OVERALL DEFENSE EFFORT.

4. I DID THINK, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WAS ANOTHER LINE OF REASONING THAT WAS VALID AND COULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE. THIS WAS TO START FROM THE PREMISES: (A) THAT SPAIN WOULD BE COMMITTED TO COOPERATION IN THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST WHETHER IT CONTINUED TO BE GOVERNED BY THE UCD OR WHETHER IT WAS GOVERNED BY THE PSOE (ALTHOUGH THE MODALITIES OF COOPERATION MIGHT BE DIFFERENT IN THE LATTER CASE) BECAUSE IT WAS IN THE BASIC SPANISH INTEREST TO BE SO COMMITTED AS PERCEIVED BY BOTH OF SPAIN'S TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES, AND (B) THAT, THIS BEING THE CASE, IT WAS IN THE U.S. INTEREST TO HELP SPAIN TO THE EXTENT IT COULD TO BE AS EFFECTIVE AN ALLY AS POSSIBLE. IN THIS CONTEXT I PERSONALLY FELT THAT THERE WAS MORE THAT THE U.S. COULD DO AND WOULD WANT TO DO OVER TIME, EVEN THOUGH THERE WOULD BE REAL LIMITS ON THE TOTAL AMOUNT

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AND NATURE OF THE ASSISTANCE THAT COULD BE PROVIDED UNDER THE TREATY OR OTHERWISE. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND CO-PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO SPAIN'S LONGER-TERM PROGRESS AS AN EFFECTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE WESTERN DEFENSE EFFORT. I ALSO SAID THAT THE SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OF AS MUCH U.S. ASSISTANCE AS POSSIBLE DURING THE SPANISH ATTEMPT TO CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRACY IN THE FACE OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER DIFFICULTIES WAS A FURTHER VALID POINT WHICH WOULD STRIKE A SYMPATHETIC CHORD IN THE U.S., ALTHOUGH AGAIN THERE WERE DEFINITE LIMITS ON HOW MUCH THE U.S. COULD DO.

5. GUTIERREZ MELLADO THANKED ME AND SAID HE CERTAINLY DID NOT WISH TO APPROACH THE ISSUE IN WASHINGTON AS THOUGH HE WERE NEGOTIATING A SOYBEAN CONTRACT. HE WAS IN BASIC AGREEMENT WITH WHAT I HAD SAID. HE WAS IN THE PROCESS OF PREPARING HIMSELF FOR A VISIT AND PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE FULLY READY TO GO FOR ANOTHER MONTH TO SIX WEEKS. MEANWHILE HE WOULD BRIEF HIMSELF AS THOROUGHLY AS HE COULD ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE TREATY RELATIONSHIP AND ON WHAT WAS NEEDED TO MAKE SPAIN AS EFFECTIVE AN ALLY IN THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST AS WAS POSSIBLE. HE WOULD

THEN HOPE TO BE ABLE TO HAVE THE FRANKEST POSSIBLE TALK ON THESE MATTERS WITH SECRETARY BROWN AND OTHERS IN WASHINGTON. THE DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WOULD BE HIS MAIN CONCENTRATION BUT HE MIGHT ALSO WISH TO HAVE TALKS ON SOME OTHER SUBJECTS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MADRID 06463

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6. GUTIERREZ MELLADO CONTINUED THAT HE WOULD NOT EXPECT THE U.S. TO GO BEYOND WHAT IT COULD DO UNDER THE TERMS OF THE TREATY OR UNDER ITS OWN LAWS AND REGULATIONS, BUT HE HAD A STRONG FEELING THAT THERE WAS A MARGIN IN BOTH RESPECTS THAT WOULD PERMIT THE U.S. TO DO MORE FOR SPAIN THAN IT HAD DONE THUS FAR AND THAT THIS WOULD BE IN THE UNITED STATES' OWN INTERESTS. HE ALSO FELT STRONGLY THAT THE DEGREE OF U.S. ASSISTANCE TO SPAIN HAD DECLINED VERY CONSIDERABLY FROM THE BEGINNING YEARS OF THE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN FRANCO-SPAIN AND THE U.S. TO THE PRESENT AND THAT IT WAS IN THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES TO HAVE A REVERSAL OF THAT TREND THAT WOULD STRENGTHEN SPAIN AS A DEFENSE PARTNER. WE DID NOT DISCUSS IN ANY GREAT DETAIL SPECIFIC ITEMS UNDER THE TREATY, BUT GUTIERREZ MELLADO REFERRED BRIEFLY IN THIS CONTEXT TO SPANISH ONWARD INTEREST IN AN APPROPRIATE MODERN FIGHTER AIRCRAFT, IN SHIPS, AND PARTICULARLY IN ASSISTANCE TO SPAIN'S DEFENSE INDUSTRY THROUGH TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, CO-PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS AND CREDITS.

7. AT THE END OF THIS EXCHANGE I SUGGESTED TO GUTIERREZ MELLADO THAT HE MIGHT WISH TO HAVE A MORE DETAILED BRIEFING ON SPECIFIC ISSUES FROM JUSMG/MAAG CHIEF GENERAL NASH BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE. I ALSO TOLD

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GUTIERREZ MELLADO THAT I WAS SURE THAT SECRETARY BROW  
WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A FULL AND FRANK  
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WHEN HE CAME TO WASHINGTON.

8. THE VICE PRESIDENT ACCEPTED WHAT I HAD TO SAY IN  
GOOD FASHION, WAS OPEN IN HIS RESPONSES, AND SAID THAT  
HE WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE FOR THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.  
HE SAID HE WOULD HOPE TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK  
AT LEAST ONCE MORE BEFORE HE LEFT FOR THE STATES AND  
THAT HE MIGHT ACCEPT MY OFFER FOR A MORE DETAILED  
BRIEFING AT SOME POINT FROM OUR MILITARY EXPERTS HERE  
BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE. IT IS MY HOPE THAT THIS  
CONVERSATION, TOGETHER WITH A SUBSEQUENT MORE TECHNICAL  
AND DETAILED BRIEFING ON WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED  
UNDER THE TREATY, WILL CONTRIBUTE TO A CONSTRUCTIVE  
AND PRODUCTIVE VISIT BY GUTIERREZ MELLADO TO THE U.S.  
I GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT GUTIERREZ MELLADO EXPECTED  
TO BE READY TO TRAVEL BY THE SECOND HALF OF JULY,  
ALTHOUGH HE MENTIONED NO SPECIFIC DATE. EATON

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